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Class F 215

Book B 36

THE SOLID SOUTH: 691

ITS POLITICAL SPIRIT, METHODS, AND PURPOSES. 714

GENERAL JOHN BEATTY

AT TROY, OHIO, AUGUST 21, 1880.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: The people of the Northern States of the American Union believe in free speech, and practice it. You find here the Democrat and Republican associated in business; occupying the same pews in churches; on terms of closest intimacy in society; near neighbors and dear friends who confide in and respect each other. When they want to buy they never stop to ask the political views of the seller. When they need the services of a physician, lawyer, teacher, mechanic, or laborer, they employ him without regard to his political convictions. They recognize and respect his right to think, speak, and vote as his own conscience and judgment may dictate. In short, the people of the North bow reverently to that principle in our Republican government which insists upon the broadest suffrage and the largest liberty. They will not knowingly trample upon the rights of others, and will not, without protest, allow their own to be disregarded. They demand that respect and consideration for their own opinions which they cheerfully accord to the convictions of others. They protect the rights of the humblest and vilest, because they thus render their own more secure. They know that whatever privileges are denied to the poorest and weakest may, in the end, be denied to themselves and their children. Whoever and whatever, therefore, offends the least of these offends also the greatest.

This trait of political tolerance which so distinguishes the North is the product of her schools and churches. As men become wiser and better they attain clearer perceptions of their own public and private duties, and of the personal and political rights of others, and observe more nearly that injunction of the Savior, "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you."

These general remarks indicate sufficiently the spirit of fairness which pervades the North. *How is it with the Southern States* which now propose to assume control of the nation? Does the same spirit of political tolerance prevail there? Do Democrats and Republicans join hands in business there; respect each other's political convictions; encourage free speech and free political action; invite open discussion of national issues; treat political opponents courteously and kindly; insist upon a free ballot and fair count? If so, no harm could result from placing the vast interests of the nation in its keeping—in the hands of the party of which the Solid South would have absolute control. But if on the contrary this spirit of political tolerance, this respect for the natural and political rights of men, does not exist there, then every Northern man should be on his guard; and if, upon further investigation, it should be found that a spirit of political intolerance and proscription pervades the South, which disregards the Constitution, tramples upon the legal rights of the citizen, crushes out free speech and independent political action, substitutes the shot gun and bull whip for dispassionate discussion, resorts to intimidation, scourging, and murder for the attainment of political ends—in short, if this be the condition of public sentiment in the Solid South then it behooves honest men to not only be on their guard, but to arouse themselves and to battle earnestly against the danger which threatens free institutions.

My friends, I know the power of prejudice and the strength of party ties. I know how difficult it is to make men believe what they do not desire to believe. I understand how apt they are to regard unfavorable testimony with suspicion, to distrust the motives of the speaker who tells unpleasant truths, to grasp at any ridiculous fabrication which encourages their preconceived notions and so justifies their judgment. But let me assure you that the statements I shall make to-night can be substantiated and established by as good evidence as that upon which the titles to your farms and homes are based. It would take a week, and perhaps a month, to read all the testimony, but if you will hear me in fairness, and with an honest desire to accept the truth and profit by it, I shall prove to you that a spirit of *revengeful vindictiveness* against the North, against the later amendments to the Constitution, against the freedmen, dominates the South,

and that in that section there is no free speech, no honest ballot, no fair elections, no just regard for the political rights and privileges of the citizen, no acceptance of the results of the war, but on the contrary, that the Federal laws are nullified, the freedmen disfranchised, men of northern birth insulted, threatened, and often murdered, and that a spirit of murderous, intolerable, proscriptionist despotism rules the section which, if the Democratic party succeeds, will have absolute control of the nation.

THE POLITICAL SPIRIT WHICH ANIMATES THE SOUTH.

The first witness I shall call to testify as to the spirit of the South, is General George H. Thomas, "the rock of Chickamauga." Will any soldier or citizen of the North question what he may say, or what he may have said? When interrogated by a Congressional Committee as to the nature and objects of certain secret Democratic organizations which in 1866 began to multiply and extend over the South, he replied as follows:

"To embarrass the Government of the United States in the proper administration of the affairs of the country, by endeavoring or making strong efforts to gain very important concessions to the people of the South; if possible, to repudiate the national debt incurred in consequence of the rebellion, or to gain such an ascendancy in Congress as to make provision for the assumption by Congress of the debt incurred by the rebel government; also, in case the United States Government can be involved in a foreign war, to watch their opportunity and take advantage of the first that occurs to strike for the independence of the States lately in rebellion."

Again, in his official report for 1868, two years later, he says of Tennessee and Kentucky, "crime is committed because public opinion favors it, or, at least, acquiesces in it. The local laws are enforced or not, according to the controlling opinions of the community; a criminal who is popular with the mob can set law at defiance, but if a man is only charged with or suspected of crime, if he is inimical to the community, he is like to be hanged to the nearest tree, or shot down at his own door."

Again: "Violence is openly talked of. The editorials of the public press are such as to create the most intense hatred in the breasts of ex-rebels and their sympathizers. The effect of this is to cause disturbance throughout the State, by inciting the ruffianly portion of the class of citizens to murder, rob, and maltreat white Unionists and colored people. Localities where there are no United States troops stationed. The local authorities have not the will, and more often have not the power, to suppress or prevent these outrages."

These political leaders have insisted that this condition of affairs was attributable to the errors and oppressive legislation of a Republican Congress. But what does General Thomas, who was on the ground, and in position to form an accurate opinion, say on the subject? I read from his report:

"The controlling cause of the unsettled condition of affairs in the department is that the greatest efforts made by the defeated insurgents since the close of the war have been to promulgate the idea that the cause of liberty, justice, humanity, equality, and all the calendar of the virtues of freedom, suffered violence and wrong when the effort for southern independence failed. This is, of course, intended as a species of political cant, whereby the crime of treason might be covered with a counterfeit varnish of patriotism, so that the precipitators of the rebellion might go down in history hand in hand with the defenders of the Government, thus wiping out with their own hands their own stains, a species of self-forgiveness amazing in its effrontery, when it is considered that life and property—justly forfeited by the laws of the country, of war, and of nations—through the magnanimity of the Government and people, were not exacted from them."

The next witness I shall present to testify as to the spirit of the South, is General Howard, the Havelock of the national armies, a consistent christian and a gallant soldier, who lost an arm in the service, and distinguished himself on many of the great battle fields of the war. Those who know him personally will never question any statement of fact he may make; those who know of him must accord implicit confidence to what he says, and those who neither know him nor know of him should, at least, not dispute his statements, until they have taken the trouble to inform themselves as to his character for truthfulness, and all the circumstances bearing upon the matters of which he speaks.

From his report on the condition of affairs in Georgia for 1863, I clip the following:

"Numerous outrages have been perpetrated upon freed people in this State, some of them remarkable for atrocity. 'Louisville, Jefferson county, in November, a mob arrested a colored man and, binding him to a stake, piled fagots about him and actually burned him alive' In other instances freedmen have been tied up and whipped, and their houses and property burned. In the majority of cases the civil authorities have failed to punish the criminals."

Again, in 1869, he says:

"In many parts of the State there is practically no government. The worst of crimes

are committed, and no attempt is made to punish those who commit them. Murders have been and are frequent; the abuse in various ways of the blacks is too common to excite notice. There can be no doubt of the existence of numerous insurrectionary organizations known as 'Ku-Klux Klans,' who, shielded by their disguise, by the secrecy of their movements, and by the terror which they inspire, perpetrate crime with impunity. There is great reason to believe that in some cases local magistrates are in sympathy with the members of these organizations."

General Terry, the hero of Fort Fisher, in his report for 1869, says of southern Alabama:

"In many localities life and property are very insecure. Crimes are frequent, and the civil authorities are utterly powerless to prevent or punish them, or are careless of their duties."

The next witness is General Grant. Do you think that with all the facts before him he would willfully misrepresent the Southern people? March 23, 1871—three years later than the period of which General Thomas speaks—he sent the following message:

"To the Senate and House of Representatives:

"A condition of affairs now exists in some of the States of the Union rendering life and property insecure and the carrying of the mails and the collection of the revenue dangerous. The proof that such a condition of affairs exists in some localities is now before the Senate. That the power to correct these evils is beyond the control of State authorities I do not doubt; that the power of the Executive of the United States, acting within the limits of existing laws, is sufficient for present emergencies, is not clear. Therefore I urgently recommend such legislation as in the judgment of Congress shall effectually secure life, liberty, and property, and the enforcement of law in all parts of the United States."

Four years later still, under date of January 10, 1875, General Phil. Sheridan, a competent witness, I believe, before any loyal tribunal, says of Louisiana:

"Since the year 1866 nearly thirty-five hundred persons, a great majority of whom were colored men, have been killed and wounded in this State. In 1863 the official record shows that eighteen hundred and eighty-four were killed and wounded. From 1863 to the present time no official investigation has been made, and the civil authorities in all but a few cases have been unable to arrest, convict, or punish the perpetrators. Consequently there are no correct records to be consulted for information. There is ample evidence, however, to show that more than twelve hundred persons have been killed and wounded during this time on account of their political sentiments. Frightful massacres have occurred in the parishes of Bossier, Caddo, Catahoula, Saint Bernard, Grant, and Orleans. * * * * *

"Human life in this State is held so cheaply that when men are killed on account of political opinion, the murderers are regarded rather as heroes than as criminals in the localities where they reside."

One year later than this, to wit., on December 6, 1876, President Grant sent a message to Congress on the subject of Southern outrages, and with it a list of the men murdered, maimed, and whipped for opinion's sake in the single State of Louisiana. The list covered a period of eight years, from 1868 to 1876. It gave the names of the victims, the names of the men who perpetrated the outrages, and the localities where the crimes were committed. The report named specifically over four thousand American citizens who had been either murdered, maimed, or scourged at the dictation of the proscriptive spirit which dominates the Democratic party of Louisiana; and yet no man guilty of these offenses had been punished therefor.

But to come down from 1876 to a still later period, let me call your attention to a convention of colored men held in New Orleans, April, 1879, to consider the causes of the migration of colored people from Southern to Northern States. This convention made the following statement:

"The primary cause of this wide-spread alarm among the colored people lies in the absence of a Republican form of government to the people of Louisiana. Crime and lawlessness existing to an extent that laughs at all restraint and the misgovernment naturally induced from a State administration itself the product of violence, have created an absorbing and constantly increasing distrust and alarm among our people throughout the State. All rights of freemen denied, and all claims to a just recompense for labor rendered or honorable dealings between planter and laborer disallowed, justice a mockery, and the laws a cheat, the very officers of the courts being themselves the mobocrats and violators of law, the only remedy left the colored citizen in many parishes of our State to-day is to emigrate. The fiat to go forth is irresistible. The constantly recurring, nay, ever present, fear which haunts the minds of these our people in the turbulent parishes of the State is that slavery in the horrible form of peonage is approaching."

In corroboration of the statement made by this convention as to the spirit of the South, we have the testimony of prominent gentlemen of St. Louis, who examined the

fugitives from Southern injustice as the latter were on their way to Kansas. In a memorial to Congress, presented in 1879 and signed by Mayor Overholtz, a Democrat, Hon. John F. Dillon, a Judge of the United States District Court, ex-United States Senator J. B. Henderson, and nearly one hundred other leading citizens of St. Louis, the condition and grievances of the refugees are stated as follows:

"The undersigned, your memorialists, respectfully represent that within the last two weeks there have come by steamboat up the Mississippi River from chiefly the States of Louisiana and Mississippi, and landed at Saint Louis, Missouri, a great number of colored citizens of the United States, not less than twenty hundred, and composed of men and women, old and young, and with them many of their children. This multitude is eager to proceed to Kansas, and without exception, so far as we have learned, refuse all overtures or inducements to return South, even if their passage back is paid for them.

"We have taken occasion to examine into the causes they themselves assign for their extraordinary and unexpected transit, and beg leave to submit herewith the written statements of a number of individuals of the refugees, which were taken without any effort to have one thing said more than another, and to express the sense of the witness in his own language as nearly as possible.

"The story is about the same in each instance. Great privation and want from excessive rent exacted for land, connected with murder of colored neighbors and threats of personal violence to themselves. The tone of each statement is that of suffering and terror. Election days and Christmas, by the concurrent testimony, seem to have been appropriated to killing the smart men, while robbery and personal violence in one form and another seem to have run the year round.

"Here they are in multitudes, not men alone but women and children, old, middle-aged, and young, with common consent leaving their old homes in a natural climate and facing storms and unknown dangers to go to northern Kansas. Why? Among them all there is little said of hope in the future; it is all of fear in the past. They are not drawn by the attractions of Kansas; they are driven by the terrors of Mississippi and Louisiana. Whatever becomes of them, they are unanimous in their unalterable determination not to return.

"There are others coming. Those who have come and gone on to Kansas must suffer even unto death, we fear—at all events more than any body of people entitled to liberty and law, the possession of property, the right to vote and the pursuit of happiness should be compelled to suffer under a free government, from terror inspired by robbery, threats, assaults, and murders.

"We protest against the dire necessities that have impelled this exodus, and against the violation of common right, natural and constitutional, proven to be of most frequent occurrence in places named; and we ask such action at the hands of our Representatives and our Government as shall investigate the full extent of the causes leading to this unnatural state of affairs, protect the people from its continuance, and not only protect liberty and life, but enforce law and order.

"It is intolerable to believe that with the increased representation of the Southern States in Congress those shall not be allowed freely to cast their ballots, upon whose right to vote that representation has been enlarged. We believe no government can prosper that will allow such a state of injustice to the body of its people to exist, any more than society can endure where violence and murder go unchallenged."

Let no man go away from here and affirm that this is a partizan statement and therefore unworthy of belief. It was made by a Democratic mayor of St. Louis, by an ex-United States Senator notorious for his independence of party ties, by an honored Judge of the United States District Court, and by nearly one hundred other citizens, as respectable and as responsible as can be found in any city on the continent; all of whom bear witness in the face of the world to the fact that these American citizens—these husbands, wives, and fathers—were not drawn from the homes of their childhood and the graves of their kindred by the attractions of the North, but were driven from them by the terrors of the South.

As one further illustration of the spirit of shameless intolerance which prevails in the solid South, permit me to quote a paragraph from the speech made by General M. C. Butler, at Bennettsville, South Carolina, a few days ago. He said:

"Look at Longstreet; he was begged and implored not to persevere in his course, but he drifted on and on, and floundered deeper and deeper into the mire, until he landed head and foot into the Republican slough. And what has he gained? SCORN, OSTRACISM, ODIUM, ILL-WILL—worse than all, the CONTEMPT of the men that stood by him under the shower of death and destruction."

Do we treat a Democrat, a Greenbacker, a Prohibitionist, a Republican, thus in the North? No no; we scorn no man for standing by his convictions; we ostracise no man on account of his political opinions; we cover no man with odium, ill-will and contempt because he speaks and votes as he pleases. But in the solid South they have the shot-gun and bull whip for the colored man who desires to vote the Republican ticket.

Scorn, ostracism, odium, and contempt for the white Republican who dares to assert his opinions. In the North, thank God, where Republican majorities are largest, speech, votes, and political action are freest.

I might go further, and adduce other evidence, more than you have the patience to hear, or I the strength to read, all going to show that the South is hostile to free speech, free schools, fair elections, and fair play. I could show you how Northern ministers of the gospel, white men at that, have been scourged in the South for teaching in the negro schools and preaching in colored churches. I could show you how, under the laws of Texas and Mississippi, colored men and women are arrested on some frivolous charge, convicted, fined, imprisoned, and then hired out to cotton planters at from one-fourth of a cent to twenty-five cents per day. In this connection permit me to read an extract from the testimony of William Ruby, a witness summoned last winter at the instance of the Democratic members of the Senate Committee to investigate the exodus. He said:

"They call these people county convicts, and if you have got a farm you can go and hire them out of the jail. They have got that system, and the colored men object to it. I know some of these men who have State convicts that they hire and work them under shot-guns. A farmer hires so many of the State, and they are under the supervision of a sergeant with a gun and nigger-hounds, to run them with if they get away. They hire them and put them in the same gang with the striped suit on, and, if they want, the guard can bring them down with his shot-gun. Then they have these nigger-hounds, and if one of them gets off and they can't find him, they take the hounds, and from a shoe, or anything of the kind belonging to the convict, they trail him down."

"Q. Are these the same sort of blood-hounds they used to have to run the negroes with?"

"A. Yes, sir."

Is it strange that laboring men should flee terror-stricken from such a country? I repeat that I could flood you with documentary evidence all going to show the brutal and intolerant spirit of the South—not what it was in 1868 merely, but what it was in '70, '75, '79, and is to-day, but instead of wearying you by further recital of testimony on this point, I now and here challenge any man to stand up and deny any of the statements made, either by the witnesses or by myself. Can any one present say that such witnesses as Generals Thomas, Howard, Grant, Sheridan, ex Senator Henderson, Judge Dillon, and Mayor Overholtz, would not be believed by any Democratic jury of Miami county? If, therefore, you cannot impeach the witnesses, how can you avoid admitting the facts to which they testify, and if you admit the facts, how can you, as good citizens, seek to put the Government into the hands of men who are animated, governed, and controlled by this spirit of murderous proscription, so intolerable to the poor and so dangerous to the country?

II.

I have thus far spoken simply of the spirit of the South, and have only indirectly alluded to the

POLITICAL METHODS

of that section. I propose now, with your permission, to consider this subject as briefly as I can.

The attention of one traveling through the forest lands of the parish of St. Landry, La., in 1868, was drawn to a cloud of buzzards hovering over some object not far from the public highway. Curiosity impelled him to ascertain what attracted them to the place, and going thither he found in one pile the decaying bodies of twenty-five negroes. These constituted but a small portion of the men who had been slaughtered in the six days' political campaign, which had occurred in that parish a few days prior to the last election. In this campaign the only persons killed or wounded were colored men and Republicans. They had been hunted like wild beasts through field and forest; between three and four hundred had been killed outright, and although there was in that parish a registered Republican majority of 1071, not a single Republican vote was cast on the day of election.

In the parish of Bossier, La., in September, 1868, two hundred colored people were killed, and although there were 1935 Republican votes in the parish, only one Republican vote found its way into the ballot box on election day. In the parish of Caddo, La., during the month of October, 1865, forty colored people were killed, and out of a registered Republican vote of 2894, only one was cast for the Republican ticket.

How would you like, my friends, to have this method of electing Congressmen introduced into the North? Does this mode of discussing political questions strike you as fair and honest? Is this method of achieving Democratic victories satisfactory to the Northern Democratic conscience? I hope not, in fact I know it is not, to the great majority of Northern Democrats, and yet can you name a single Democratic leader who has ever denounced these outrages from the stump in Ohio? or one! By silence, at least, they consent to, if they do not by words, encourage this brutal method of attaining political ends.

We have on record the confession of sixteen men of Almance county, North Carolina, who belonged to one of these secret Democratic organizations. They say:

"This organization in the outset, as we understood it, was purely political, and for the mutual protection of the members thereof and their families; but since joining we have been pained to know that, while the objects of the organization were to attain certain political ends, the means used and resorted to were such as would shock a civilized and enlightened people."

By the testimony of General N. B. Forest and others we ascertain that these secret Democratic organizations extended into every State and county of the South, and, as an illustration of the manner in which they operated, I clip from a great mass of corroborating evidence the testimony of William K. Tolbert, who, in 1868, was a member of a Democratic club in Abbeville county, South Carolina:

"Question. Was there any secret organization connected with these clubs?

"Answer. Yes, sir; committees were appointed which met in secret, and they appointed men to patrol in each different neighborhood.

"Question. For what purpose were these men appointed to patrol?

"Answer. To find out where the negroes were holding Union Leagues.

"Question. They were instructed, you say, to patrol these neighborhoods; what other instructions had they, if any?

"Answer. To break them up; kill the leader; fire into them and kill the leader if they could.

"Question. Were there any other instructions given to these committees by the Democratic clubs in relation to the election to be held on the third of November?

"Answer. Yes, sir. The day before the election the tickets were taken away from the Republican party, from those who had charge of the tickets, by these committees. The committees were searching for them the night before the election, taking them wherever they could find them. I was one of the gang myself. Ten or eleven were with me. I was a member of the committee myself. Destroyed the tickets. All of us were armed.

"Question. What were your instructions if the persons having the tickets in charge refused to give them up?

"Answer. Shoot them and take them by force."

This is the way they achieve Democratic victories in the Democratic South!

Again:

"Question. Did the Democrats come to the Whitehall polling precinct armed on the day of the election?

"Answer. Every one, so far as I know. It was a general understanding throughout the county that all were to go armed.

"Question. State what occurred at Greenwood precinct up to the time you left to go to Whitehall.

"Answer. Well, the negroes, to the number of about four hundred voters, in Abbeville county, assembled about one hundred and fifty yards from the polls. The white men, Democrats, were all around the door. Captain J. G. Boozer was sitting right by the door to examine the tickets. Don't know whether Boozer was appointed. He was there for that business. Two Republicans, colored men, came up to vote. They came from the main body. He said: 'Let me see your papers.' They pulled out the Republican tickets with Hoge's name on them for Congress. He told them that they could not vote them sort there; they would have to go somewhere else to vote those papers. Boozer was armed. They turned back to the main body, who saw that there was no chance to vote, so they disbanded and went home, about four hundred of them, all voters in Abbeville county."

Last winter William Murrell, a witness called by the Senate Committee to investigate the causes of the migration of colored people, under oath, said, in substance, that he resided in Madison parish, Louisiana; that in the parish there were 2,700 registered colored voters, and but 238 white voters; that the parish had been Republican; but that on the 28th of December, 1878, just before the time for holding the election, armed bodies of men came into Madison parish from the parishes of Morehouse, Richland, and Franklin, and by threats of violence converted the parish of Madison, where there were 2,700 colored voters and only 238 white voters, into a Democratic parish; and, although but 360 votes were cast at the election, the Democratic candidates claimed to have received a majority of 2,300. Here, as everywhere in the South, there were armed men at the polls to intimidate the voter, but as they wore the gray, and not the blue, our Democratic friends did not and do not object. They simply protest against the United States soldier, whose duty it is to preserve peace at the polls, and secure a fair election, not against the Confederate soldier, whose business it is to threaten, scourge, and kill in the interest of his party.

I have referred to this testimony, and quoted portions of it in detail, to illustrate, and thus impress upon your minds, the brutal means used to obtain Democratic victories in

the South. I might continue to quote testimony for a week—testimony which no man can successfully dispute—all proving beyond a peradventure that the South is ruled by force and fraud. I might refer in detail to the horrible circumstances of the Chisholm massacre; to the deliberate murder of Dixon because he dared to announce himself as an independent candidate for sheriff; to the recent threatened assassination and compulsory flight of a deputy collector of customs who dared to make a Republican speech in Texas; to the maltreatment and expulsion of Randall, a greenback orator, from Mississippi; but I cannot dwell longer on details. Permit me to show you at a glance what the Solid South has accomplished by these

VILLAINOUS METHODS.

In Louisiana there are 84,000 Republicans, not one of whom dares vote for the candidate of his choice; in Georgia there are 93,000 disfranchised; in Alabama 90,000 who dare neither speak, organize, nor vote; in North Carolina 96,000 who are deterred by the shot-gun and bull whip from the exercise of the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution; in South Carolina there are 80,000, and in Mississippi 60,000 citizens—qualified electors—loyal and peaceable men—who have no rights that an ex-Confederate soldier is bound to respect. In Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, Florida, and Texas a similar condition of affairs exists. Many of these Southern States, on a fair vote, would be overwhelmingly Republican. Take, as an illustration of the potency of fraud and violence when used as political factors, the Fourth Congressional District of Mississippi. In 1872 the Democrats polled 8,870 votes and the Republicans 15,950 votes. In 1878 the Democrats polled 4,025 and the Republicans none at all. Our Democratic friends of the North cannot say that the Republicans of 1872 had become converted, and therefore voted the Democratic ticket in 1878, because if this had been the case the Democratic vote of 1878 would have been larger than it was in 1872, instead of being smaller. Here, as you see, is a district having, on a fair election, a Republican majority of over 6,000, where not one solitary Republican vote is cast. The man who represents that district in Congress is a usurper, who has neither a legal nor an equitable right to the seat he occupies; he is indebted to the shot-gun and bull-whip for it, and not to the ballots of freemen. In fact the shot-gun and bull-whip have put ten men into the United States Senate and thirty or forty men into the House of Representatives. The shot-gun and bull-whip have given the Democratic party its majorities in the two Houses of Congress; the shot-gun and bull-whip have enabled the South to dictate the legislation of the country.

There are thirty Democratic Senators from the South and only twelve from the North; the South therefore controls in the Senate caucuses. There are one hundred Democratic members in the House of Representatives from the South and but fifty-five from the North, so the South controls in the House caucus and in the joint caucuses of the two Houses, and thus, on all matters of party policy or legislation, the solid South is now omnipotent in Congress, as it would be in every department of the Government if the Democratic party should succeed in November.

Are you satisfied, my friends? Shall the great North, which has the population, the intelligence, the wealth, the energy of the country, and pays nine-tenths of its revenues, surrender control of the Government to a section notorious for its disloyalty, ignorance, and crime—to a party which secures its majorities through fraud and violence?

III.

I have thus far spoken of the political spirit of the South, its political methods, and of the results accomplished by those methods. Let me now say a word in regard to the

GREAT PURPOSE OF THE SOUTH,

The goal, the end for which the white people of that section are struggling. In the light of the testimony submitted it would be useless for any one to attempt to disguise the fact that there is now a struggle between sections, another phase of that conflict which took place from '61 to '65, founded upon the same general ideas, prompted by the same prejudices and passions, and carried forward in the South by substantially the same methods. It is a Solid South *versus* a Solid North. The South is stronger to-day, politically, than it was before the war; the white people of that section have lost their slaves, indeed, but they have gained by that loss thirty additional representatives in the National Congress, and the same number in the Electoral Colleges, and, although they have disfranchised the freedmen, they yet cling to their increased representation. With full control of Congress and the Executive, what would they do?

1. They would cut up Texas into five States, and thus gain eight additional Senators, and virtually secure to the South, for all time, full control of the United States Senate.

2. They would reorganize the Supreme Court and then sweep away the later amendments to the Constitution.

3. They would put the Confederate soldiers on the pension rolls, provide for the payment of the rebel debt, and of Southern claims.

4. They would declare the Emancipation Proclamation and the reconstruction acts of Congress unconstitutional, revolutionary and void, and demand payment for lost slaves.

But some Democratic friend thinks this would be impossible. That if a Democratic administration were to do all this, the Democratic party would be hurled from power at the next election. How, my friends? If you trust the Democratic party now, you will trust it once too often. The joint resolution by which Texas was annexed provides that Congress may divide the territory embraced within its present limits into five States. It will make five States as large, territorially, as Pennsylvania. This division—and Congress and the President have the right and the power to make it at any time—would, as I have before stated, give the South eight more Senators, forty in all, and only making it necessary to obtain the votes of one Democratic State in the North to secure absolute control of the Senate. No obnoxious law could be repealed without the consent of this Senate. No law could be passed without its concurrence. It would be in position to dictate both as to legislation and appointments. No new State could be admitted; no treaty made; no joint resolution passed; no postmaster or revenue officer appointed without its permission. The Negro might be re-enslaved by the States, and there would be no remedy save in revolution. A system of peonage might be established, worse even than slavery, under which the freedmen would be guarded by shot-guns while they worked, and hunted by bloodhounds when they ran away, and the North, unless absolutely solid, would be powerless to protect.

With the Senate in possession of the South, what can the North do? The President may be a Republican, the House may have a two-thirds Republican majority, the popular vote may be overwhelmingly Republican, but there stands the Southern Senate to dictate to all; to revise every law; to bargain about every appointment; to pass upon every appropriation; to demand what it wants for the South, and obtain it or obstruct all legislation.

This, fellow-citizens, is the lost cause revived. It is better to the South than the lost cause could have been, because it affords greater advantages. It comprehends all that that did, and goes far beyond. It puts the purse of the North within easy reach of the indolent and impoverished South. It indemnifies the South for the past, and gives it security for the future. It places the South in position to say to us: "Yield to our demands or rebel; take this or nothing; submit to our dictation or the machinery of the Government shall stop; you have much to lose by war, we have little; break the peace if you dare." This would be the end of free government on this continent, and the beginning of life tenures of office for Southern Senators and Democratic appointees. This is what Wade Hampton meant when he assured the Virginians the other day, at Staunton, that the Democratic party was struggling for the same principles for which Lee and Stonewall Jackson fought. It is for this great end that the South has been solidified. Stimulated by the hope of grasping this prize, and achieving this great victory over the North, the Confederate army is marching to the polls in solid column, followed by every man who lost a cotton bale; by every master who lost a slave; by every planter who lost a mule; by every gambler, pimp, and thief, who prides himself on being better than a Negro; by every ruffian whose business it was to make merchandise of men; by every brutal overseer who cut and slashed the laboring poor; by every canting hypocrite who taught that slavery was of God; by every cowardly assassin who has raised his hand to strike down free speech; by every sneaking scoundrel who has cheated the popular will by tissue ballots.

Men of the North, will you meet them? Will you defeat them? I believe you will. I know you will. Whatever your party ties may have been, you should forget them now. You have no interests that the success of the Republican party will not promote. Stand for the civilization of the North; for its free schools, free speech, free ballots, and free men! Stand by the party whose record is full of generous deeds and magnificent achievements! Whose aim has ever been to elevate the poor, and secure equality of rights to all.

"My friends, if you can but wait all will be well. If any of us die before the day of peace and liberty dawns, let us die in the faith that it will come at last. * * * I am not of those who accept the situation. * * * I don't believe I did wrong, and therefore I don't acknowledge it."—*Jeff Davis, at Atlanta, 1871.*

"Consider what Lee and Jackson would do were they alive. These are the same principles for which they fought four years."—*Wade Hampton, at Staunton, 1880.*

"'Yank,' or no 'Yank,' if elected the old boys of the South will see that Hancock does the fair thing. He will run the machine to suit them, or they will run the thing themselves."—*Robert Toombs, of Georgia.*



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